

THE INFLUENCE OF ARIOSTO'S
EPIC AND LYRIC POETRY
ON RONSARD AND
HIS GROUP

BY
ALICE CAMERON

A Portion of a
DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of
The Johns Hopkins University in Conformity
With Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

JUNE, 1929

Reprinted in part from Volume XV of The Johns Hopkins Studies in
Romance Literatures and Languages

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FOREWORD

Up to the present time, there has existed only one brief study on the general question of the influence of Ariosto's poetry on that of Ronsard and his co-workers and disciples. In 1901, M. Joseph Vianey published in the *Bulletin Italien* an article entitled *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*,¹ in which, besides calling attention to a number of cases of *rapprochement* between the work of Ludovico and the poems of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, and others of lesser note, he remarks that if Ariosto's work was not the most important source used by the members of the *Pléiade*, it was at least one from which they never tired of drawing. Its popularity with them was in large measure due to its erotic qualities; Ariosto's conception of love, which was strongly voluptuous, and a thing of the senses, was much more to the taste of these poets than the shadowy spiritualities of Petrarch and his followers. Finally, M. Vianey believes that Joachim Du Bellay imitated Ariosto's poems earlier, and more often, than any other writer of his group; and that the magnitude of his borrowings discouraged his companions from applying with equal frequency to the same source.²

After this interesting beginning, M. Vianey's attention was diverted to other lines of research. He has, it is true, brought out several publications in which the subject is touched upon indirectly, or in part;³ but he has never again dealt with it comprehensively and exclusively.

¹ Cf. *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 295-317.

² *Op. cit.*, 295, 296, and 300.

³ Cf. the following articles and books:

"Les 'Antiquitez de Rome,' leurs sources latines et italiennes," *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 187 sqq.

"Les Sources italiennes de l'Olive," *Annales internationales d'histoire*, Paris, A. Colin, 1901.

"L'Arioste et les Discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire*, I (1903), 473 sqq.

"La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets*," *Bull. It.*, IV (1904), 130 sqq. Mathurin Regnier, Paris, Hachette, 1896; and *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle*, Montpellier, Coulet et fils, 1909.

M. Chamard, in his thesis on Du Bellay ⁴ and in his edition of the works of that poet; ⁵ M. Laumonier, in his *Ronsard poète lyrique* ⁶ and in both his editions of the poems of Ronsard; ⁷ M. Augé-Chiquet in his *Jean-Antoine de Baïf*; ⁸ and M. Eckhardt in his *Remy Belleau*, ⁹ have all contributed to our knowledge of the influence of Ariosto's work on the poetry of the Pléiade. Cases of *rapprochement* between his work and theirs have also been pointed out by M. E. Parturier in his article on *Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard*; ¹⁰ by Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees in her article on *Some Debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay*; ¹¹ and by Signor Ferdinando Neri in two articles entitled *La Nave di Ronsard* ¹² and *Nota ai "Regrets."* ¹³ This information is, however, so widely diffused, that its significance has so far been obscured; moreover, it is incomplete; it must be collected and supplemented before its cumulative force can be felt.

That no one has hitherto undertaken the task is probably due to a not unnatural tendency, on the part of most specialists in French literature of the sixteenth century, slightly to over-emphasize the influence of Petrarch and the classic writers on the work of Ronsard and his group, at the expense of other far from negligible sources. ¹⁴ Of course, the question is complicated by the fact that the poetry of Ariosto is itself full of imitations of the works of Petrarch and the classic writers; but he cus-

⁴ *Joachim Du Bellay*, Lille, Bigot frères, 1900.

⁵ *Œuvres Poétiques* (Société des textes français modernes), 5 vols.; Paris, Cornély, 1908-1912 (Vols. I-III); and Hachette, 1919 (Vols. IV, V).

⁶ Paris, Hachette, 1909.

⁷ *Œuvres Complètes* (Société des textes français modernes), 5 vols. (incomplete); Paris, Hachette, 1914-1928; *Œuvres Complètes*, 8 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1914-1919.

⁸ *La Vie, les idées et l'œuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf*, Paris, Hachette, 1909.

⁹ Budapest, Nemeth, 1917.

¹⁰ *Revue de la Renaissance*, VI (1905), 1 sqq.

¹¹ *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV (1909), 134 sqq.

¹² *Fanfulla della Domenica*, March, 1916.

¹³ *Athenaeum*, VII (1919), 185 sqq.

¹⁴ M. Vianey, M. Pierre de Nolhac and M. Henri Hauvette are the exceptions to this rule. Cf. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme*, Paris, E. Champion, 1921; and Hauvette, "Note sur Ronsard italianisant," *Revue de littérature comparée*, IV (1924), 476 sqq.

tomarily gives such strongly individual touches to the material which he adapts that one seldom experiences any difficulty in determining when a member of the Pléiade is imitating Ariosto's verses, and when those of his masters.

In this thesis I have attempted to ascertain the amount of influence exercised by Ariosto's verses on the work of ten of the men who inaugurated a new school of French poetry in the sixteenth century: Jacques Peletier, Jean Dorat, Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Pontus de Tyard, Remy Belleau, Estienne Jodelle, Jacques Tahureau, and Olivier de Magny. All these people shared the same ideals, and the same convictions. An examination of their work will enable us to decide whether or not the conclusions drawn by M. Vianey¹⁵ are correct; it will also, I hope, be acceptable as a contribution on the general question of Ariosto's influence on French literature between the years 1547¹⁶ and 1586.¹⁷

I should like to add a few words on the editions of Ariosto's works used in the preparation of this thesis. The best edition of his *Orlando Furioso*, that prepared by Signor Filippo Ermini for the Società Filologica Romana,¹⁸ is identical in punctuation and orthography with the original 1532 edition of the epic,¹⁹ and is therefore unsuitable for quotation here. I have substituted for it Ottavio Morali's edition of the *Orlando*,²⁰ and checked this with the Ermini edition.

The edition of the *Opere Minori*²¹ used is that prepared by Filippo-Luigi Polidori, Florence, Le Monnier, 1857 (2 vols.).

As for the various French poets treated here, the editions of their works used are given at the heads of the sections in which their poems are discussed.

In quoting all texts, I have differentiated between "i" and "j," and between "u" and "v"; I have also substituted "et" for "&," wherever the latter symbol occurs. These are the only changes I have made.

¹⁵ Cf. p. ix, above.

¹⁶ Date of the publication of Peletier's *Œuvres Poétiques*.

¹⁷ Date of the publication of the *Derniers vers* of Ronsard.

¹⁸ Rome, Presso la Società, 1913 (3 vols.).

¹⁹ Pub. Ferrara, Francesco Rosso, 1532.

²⁰ Milan, Pirotta, 1818.

²¹ That is to say, Ariosto's sonnets, elegies, madrigals, *capitoli*, songs and satires. With his plays and his Latin poetry we have, of course, nothing to do.

JOACHIM DU BELLAY

CHAPTER TWO

JOACHIM DU BELLAY ¹

Unlike Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay was perfectly frank in proclaiming himself an admirer and imitator of the work of Ariosto. In the *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* he addresses the "poète futur" as follows (II, 5, "Du long poème françois") :

"Si tu as quelquefois pitié de ton pauvre langage, si tu daignes de l'enrichir de tes thresors ce sera toy veritablement qui luy feras hausser la teste, et d'un brave sourcil s'égaler aux superbes langues grecque et latine, comme a fait de nostre temps en son vulgaire un Arioste italien, que j'oseroy' (n'estoit la sainteté des vieux poèmes) comparer à un Homere et Virgile. Comme luy doncques, qui a bien voulu emprunter de nostre langue les noms et l'histoire de son poème, choisy-moi quelqu'un de ces beaux vieux romans françois comme un Lancelot, un Tristan, ou autres: et en fay renaistre au monde une admirable Iliade et laborieuse Enéide." ²

I have followed the chronology of M. Chamard,³ and separated the poems of Du Bellay into three groups: work of his first period, from 1549 to 1554, the year he departed for Rome; work inspired by and composed during his sojourn there (the *Antiquitez* and *Regrets*, which mark the change to his second more personal manner); and poems written after the *Regrets*, some resembling them in style, some showing a return to the conventionality of the first period.

In his earlier works, and especially in the *Olive*, Du Bellay is much given to imitating Ariosto's love sonnets. There are twenty-seven of these; Du Bellay takes material from eight, numbers 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 17 and 22; no other poet in his group taxed the love sonnets so heavily.

¹ The edition of Du Bellay's poems used is the *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. by Henri Chamard for the Société des textes français modernes (5 vols.), Paris, Cornély, 1908-1912 (I-III) and Hachette, 1919 (IV, V); all page numbers given refer to this edition.

² Cf. the *Œuvres complètes de Joachim Du Bellay*, ed. by Léon Séché (3 vols.), Paris, Revue de la Renaissance, 1903-1910, I, p. 31.

³ As given in his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques*.

The *Regrets* were largely inspired by Ariosto's *Satires*, but this influence is a matter of feeling rather than of form, and is therefore very difficult to trace; only one case of definite and unmistakable *rapprochement* has ever been noted.⁴

The chief medium of Ariosto's influence upon Du Bellay was the *Orlando Furioso*. Six of Du Bellay's poems are wholly or partially based on the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero. In four he has used the allegory of swans and crows, and in four similes taken from the scene in which Orlando goes mad. Twice he borrows material from the description of Alcina, twice from Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, and once from each of the two laments of Canto XXXII.⁵ He also refers frequently to the various characters in the epic. He does not imitate the verse-forms used by Ariosto.

Before commencing a detailed discussion of those of Du Bellay's poems in which imitation of Ariosto's work appears, I should like to say a few words in regard to the *Olive*. When first published, in 1549, it comprised only fifty sonnets; in the second edition (1550) this number is increased to a hundred and fifteen. Since these editions were published within such a short time of each other, and since both contain sonnets based on the poems of Ariosto, I have used the second edition, which is the one reproduced by M. Chamard in his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques*.

L'Olive. Eleven sonnets in the *Olive* suite which show traces of Ariosto's influence (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 18, 30, 33, 78, 93, 99) have already been discovered by M. Chamard,⁶ and ten (25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42, 47, 71, 97) by M. Vianey;⁷ to these I can add only two, Sonnets 6 and 28. The detailed examination of this list, given below, will show that in ten cases the influence

⁴ In Sonnet 150; cf. p. 110, below.

⁵ Cf. p. xvi, above.

⁶ Cf. his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Joachim Du Bellay; Paris, 1908-1919; also his *Joachim Du Bellay*, Lille, 1900, p. 176.

⁷ "Les Sources italiennes de l'Olive" (*Annales internationales d'histoire*) Paris, A. Colin, 1901, p. 73, etc. Also: "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bull. It.* (1901), I, 295.

is that of Ariosto's minor works, in eleven that of his *Orlando*, and in four, of both; in other words, Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Olive*, drew just as much from the lyrics as from the epic.

The tercets of Sonnet 5 (*Olive*) are taken from the last six lines of Ariosto's Second Sonnet, "Mal si compensa, ah! lasso! un breve sguardo," in which the poet complains that Love, like a stupid, blind boy, has caught only him, and let his mistress escape, although she would have been a much more glorious conquest.

The first eight lines of Sonnet 6 of the *Olive* express, in a somewhat less exaggerated form, the idea of Ariosto's tenth madrigale "Occhi, non vi accorgete": that the face of the poet's mistress is a radiant sun of beauty; woe to him who dares regard it too long and too closely, for he will be blinded by its light.

Sonnet 7 is a close imitation, almost a translation, of the famous and much-admired Twenty-second Sonnet, "Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto." Pontus de Tyard, Ronsard, and Baïf all imitated the Twenty-second Sonnet;⁸ but to my mind Du Bellay's adaptation is the most pleasing of the four, and the most nearly equal in tone to their common model.⁹ It should be added, that ll. 5-6 of Du Bellay's sonnet are probably inspired by *O. F.*, VII, 29, and by Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, ll. 25-27; cf. pp. 4, 14, 29, above.

Sonnet 8 follows Ariosto's Seventh Sonnet, "Com' esser può che degnamente lodi" just as closely as its predecessor followed the Twenty-second Sonnet. Both poets put the same plaintive question: How can I fittingly celebrate my lady's beauty, when even to describe her wonderful hair is quite beyond my powers? Would that I had drunk of the sacred fountain ("That I had eaten of the laurel," says Ariosto), I should then die singing, like the swan, where now I perish in silence.

Sonnet 10 is evidently based on the Sixth Sonnet of Ariosto;¹⁰ like the Italian, Du Bellay proclaims that he is imprisoned in the meshes of his lady's hair, and wounded by the arrows shot from her eyes; but that his bondage is so pleasant, and his malady so sweet, that he desires neither to be freed nor healed.

⁸ Cf. pp. 27, 125, 141 of this thesis.

⁹ For a discussion of the sonnets of Ronsard, Du Bellay and Baïf, cf. M. Vianey's *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 137-140.

¹⁰ For Ronsard's imitation of this sonnet, see p. 21.

As M. Chamard remarks, Du Bellay has added a third image, flame, to those of the net and darts. He has also done away with Ariosto's final tercet, for which he substitutes an elaboration of the three lines preceding it. This practice of imitating a sonnet, and then changing the last lines so as to give a different conclusion, is frequent among the Pléiadistes; de Magny is especially prone to it.

Sonnet 11 is an imitation of Ariosto's Sonnet 17, but with a difference. Ariosto represents himself, in his poem, as standing on the further bank of the Po; the sky is stormy, the waters wild; he is afraid to attempt a crossing. Suddenly from the other bank shine the bright eyes of his lady, and he hears her words: "Che Leandro potean farmi quel giorno"; at once, at the sound of her voice, the storm-clouds pass away, and the waters are still; her beauty has power to rule the elements. With Du Bellay the allegory is made less subtle and more trite; his Olive's face is the sun, obscured by a cloud of anger, which raises waves upon the sea of love, on which the poet is sailing; he calls upon Venus for help, and from behind the cloud shine forth the stars that are his lady's eyes.¹¹ Lines 1-4 of the two poems are, however, very similar.

In Sonnet 18, as in the Twelfth Sonnet of Ariosto, on which it is based, the poet endeavors to demonstrate that he prizes the beauty of his lady's mind much more than her physical charms; as usual, he follows his model more closely in his first four lines than in the rest of the poem. Ariosto devotes his second quatrain and first tercet to praise of Madonna's "ingegno divino," etc., but three lines (6-8) suffice Du Bellay to describe these qualities in his *Olive*; he swells the concluding lines of the Italian sonnet, "Che s'in me fosse l'arte alla bontade Della materia igual, ne farei viva Statua che dureria più d'una etade," to fill both his tercets.

Sonnet 25 is an adaptation of a famous passage from the scene of the despair and madness of Orlando (*O. F.*, XXIII, 125-126), which I have already mentioned as being popular with Ronsard.¹²

A well-known passage in the *Orlando* (XXXIII, 60-64) recounts that the grieving Bradamante, who has left her castle to

¹¹ For Ronsard's imitation of this sonnet, see p. 26, above.

¹² Cf. pp. 35, 65, above.

look for Ruggiero, is comforted one night by a dream in which he appears and assures her of his faithfulness. On awaking she exclaims that since sleep brings her joy and consciousness sorrow, she would like to sleep forever. The stanza in which she repeats this wish (63) is the source of the tercets of Sonnet 28 of the *Olive*.

Sonnet 29 is taken from an even better-known passage in the *Orlando*: XLIV, 61-66, the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero,¹³ in which she assures him that come what may she will always be true to him. Du Bellay's sonnet may be called a pastiche of stanzas 61, ll. 1-4; 64, ll. 3-5; 65, and 66.

Sonnet 30 is a translation, phrase for phrase, of Ariosto's Eighth Sonnet, "Ben che'l martir sia periglioso e grave," which Ronsard later imitated in a sonnet in his *Amours* of 1552; cf. p. 22, above.

The first quatrain of Sonnet 31 owes its form and phrasing, as M. Chamard points out,¹⁴ to a sonnet of Petrarch's; but the remaining ten lines, and the idea of the whole poem, come from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante, *O. F.*, XLV, 32-39. In this case the imitation is of stanza 38, and of 39, ll. 1-4, in which the absence of the loved one is compared to a dreary winter, unlighted by the distant sun.

The first quatrain and tercets of Sonnet 33 are an imitation of Ariosto's Tenth Sonnet, "Avventuroso carcere soave," whose first line reappears frequently, in various guises, in the poems of the Pléiadistes.¹⁵ It will be remembered that the Tenth Sonnet expresses the lover's delight in the sweet captivity in which his lady holds him, and his confidence that not torments, but embraces, will be his portion.

A second poem of this group to be based on the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66) is Sonnet 35. It takes its quatrains from stanza 61, and its tercets from stanzas 62 and 65, ll. 3-4.

Sonnet 37 has been inspired by one of the earlier complaints of Bradamante, that of XXXII, 18-25. Bradamante is at her father's castle, awaiting Ruggiero, who has promised to join her

¹³ On this passage cf. pp. xvi, 28, 120, 126 of this thesis.

¹⁴ Cf. his edition of the poems of Du Bellay, I, p. 53, note 1.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 123.

there on a certain day. He does not come; and after having waited for twenty days beyond the time set she concludes that he is untrue to her and gives way to a real fit of despair, beating her breast, tearing her hair, and accusing as the authors of her woe Love, and her lover.

M. Vianey gives as the sources of Du Bellay's sonnet stanzas 20 and 21 of this passage; ¹⁶ M. Chamard states that the tercets are taken from stanza 21, but makes no mention of the quatrains. ¹⁷ I can find no traces of stanza 20 in the poem; the source of the tercets is that given by M. Chamard; and as sources for the quatrains I would suggest stanzas 18 and 19 of this same passage.

Sonnet 39 is another poem inspired by the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, *O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66. Its first four lines are taken from stanza 63, ll. 3-4, and from stanza 61, ll. 1, 2, and 8; the second quatrain comes from stanza 63, ll. 4-8; the tercets are a translation of 64, ll. 3-8.

Sonnet 42 is a translation, with slight amplifications, of *Orlando Furioso*, XXIII, 127 (part of the scene in which Orlando goes mad). Ronsard frequently imitated this passage; cf. pp. 37, 42, 76, 90, above.

Bradamante's wish to sleep eternally, in order to escape from her sorrows (*O. F.*, XXXIII, 63-64), is repeated again ¹⁸ by Du Bellay in Sonnet 47, which is entirely based on these two stanzas.

Sonnet 71, which purports to be a portrait of Olive, owes its similes to the much imitated description of Alcina (*O. F.*, VII, 10-16). When Du Bellay describes his lady's golden hair (ll. 1-2), her eyes (l. 3), her mouth (ll. 5-7), and her bosom (ll. 8-11) he is imitating stanzas 11, 12, 13, and 14 of the passage in the *Orlando*. Du Bellay then exclaims that these are the least of his lady's beauties (l. 13). Ariosto had remarked, anent those of Alcina's charms of which modesty demanded the concealment, that it was easy to judge the perfection of what was not displayed, by the perfection of what was (14, ll. 7-8); and M. Vianey queries ¹⁹ thus Du Bellay's adaptation of these

¹⁶ Cf. *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*, p. 296, note 1.

¹⁷ Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 58, note 1.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 97, above.

¹⁹ *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 299.

lines: "Veut-il (Du Bellay) dire, lui aussi, par un sous-entendu égrillard, que les beautés les plus belles sont celles qu'on ne voit pas, ou veut-il dire que ce sont les beautés de l'esprit? Le caractère du recueil autorise plutôt cette seconde interprétation."

A line in Sonnet 78 comes from this same passage:

Soit qu'elle parle ou danse ou bâle ou chante

(l. 12)

O parli, o rida, o canti, o passo mova.

(VII, 16, l. 2)

The influence of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66) appears again²⁰ in Sonnet 93, whose eleventh line, "Ou hault ou bas la Fortune me pousse" is evidently a recollection of stanza 61, l. 4.

Sonnet 97 was evidently inspired by two stanzas, 42 and 43, in the first canto of the *Orlando*. The simile employed by Ariosto, and which becomes a metaphor in the poem of Du Bellay, is this: The virgin is like a rose growing sheltered in a garden, safe from all destroying creatures, and prized for her beauty by gods and men. But this virgin flower, once plucked, loses all its charms, and withers away, despised by everyone. Ariosto himself had taken this conceit from Catullus, *Carm.* 62, "Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis," etc.; but he had changed the "flower" of Catullus into a rose, and had amplified his images by adding details of his own; in both these things Du Bellay follows Ariosto.

Sonnet 99, which is a complaint against the tormenter, Jealousy, takes its last tercet from some lines in the *Orlando*, XXXI, 5, ll. 1-3. Here Ariosto, preparatory to continuing his recital of the troubled loves of Bradamante and her Ruggiero, moralizes on this same subject of jealousy, which is, he says, a wound that can be cured neither by salves nor drugs, incantations or charms.

Poems Written Between 1449-1554. In addition to the *Anterotique de la Vieille et de la Jeune Amye*, published in 1549 with the *Olive*, Du Bellay brought out, between this year

²⁰ Cf. pp. 98, 99, above.

and 1553, four volumes of poetry which show the influence of Ariosto. These are: the *Recueil de Poesie*, 1549; the *Musagnoeomachie* and five odes, 1550; *Œuvres de l'invention de l'auteur* (with the *Quatriesme livre de l'Eneide de Vergile traduit en vers francoys*), 1552; and the second *Recueil de Poesie*, 1553. His influence is also apparent in three poems written by Du Bellay about this time, but not published until after the poet's death: the *Satyre de Maistre Pierre du Cuignet sur la Petromachie de l'Université de Paris* (about 1552), the *Ode sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont, Fils de Monseigneur de Vandosme Roy de Navarre* (1553), and the *Építaphe de Madame l'Abesse de Caen, Soeur de Monsieur le Cardinal de Chastillon* (1554).²¹

M. Chamard has pointed out imitations of the poems of Ariosto in the *Anterotique*, in one of the pieces of the *Recueil* of 1549 (*Ode à la Roynie*), in the *Musagnoeomachie* and two of the odes which follow it (*Aux Dames Angevines: Contre les Envieux Poetes*) and in the first of the *Œuvres de l'invention de l'auteur*, the *Complainte du Desesperé*.²²

I have found additional borrowed material in three more of the poems of the *Recueil* of 1549 (odes: *A Monseigneur Reverendiss. Cardinal de Chastillon*, and *A Madame la Contesse de Tonnerre*, and in a *Chant Triumphal sur le Voyage de Boulogne*); in the *Musagnoeomachie*, *Contre les Envieux Poetes*, the *Ode aux Dames Angevines*, and the *Complainte du Desesperé*; in a song in the second *Recueil* (*On peult feindre par le cizeau*"); and in the three posthumous poems.

Of these thirteen poems, only two²³ show imitation of the lyrics. The rest are all modeled on passages in the *Orlando*, which is not so very surprising when we consider how much wider a range of topics the epic covered. The allegory of the swans and crows, or poets and flatterers, is used three times; Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero, and her lament of Canto XXXII, each appear once, in the same poem; there is one occurrence of a simile from the passage which describes Roland's

²¹ For the dates assigned to these poems cf. Chamard's edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Du Bellay, V. V, pp. 237, 283, 338.

²² Cf. the foot-notes to these poems in his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Du Bellay.

²³ The *Anterotique* (1549) and the *Építaphe de l'Abesse de Caen* (1554) the two most widely separated in date.

going mad.²⁴ Perhaps the most interesting feature of this group is the fact that Du Bellay has twice²⁵ imitated those stanzas of the *Orlando*²⁶ in which Ariosto, who was, in his own way, something of a feminist, had celebrated the achievements of women.

Taking up in detail the list of imitations, we come first to the *Anterotique*. Lines 109-113 of this poem are an amplification of the third and fourth lines of Ariosto's Sonnet 6: "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," which Du Bellay had already laid under contribution for the *Olive*.²⁷

First to be considered in the *Recueil de Poesie* (1549) is a *Chant Triumphal sur le Voyage de Boulougne*. In August of 1549, says M. Chamard,²⁸ Henri II set out to conquer Boulogne. He had captured several of the out-lying forts, and seemed in a fair way to take the town, when a terrific rain-storm, which lasted two days and two nights, forced him to cease operations. The *Chant* was evidently written before the campaign opened, for Du Bellay prophesies Henri's success, and says that the French host, marching against the enemy, will resemble the waves of the sea, or long swells of grain, swayed by the wind (ll. 81-90). This is imitated from a passage in the *Orlando Furioso*, XVI, 68, ll. 1-6, which describes the shifting back and forth of two armies over a battle-field. Ronsard has made frequent use of this simile.²⁹ (Cf. also Homer, *Iliad*, II, 144-149, and, according to M. Chamard,³⁰ Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 237-239).

Later the poet addresses the wife and sister of the king; they must, he says, have entertained many anxious fears for Henri's safety; but now all danger is past, Henri returns victorious and it is time for rejoicing: let them cease to grieve, and revive like rain-soaked flowers beneath a friendly Sun (ll. 143-148). When Issabella, one of the heroines of the *Orlando*, is brought sud-

²⁴ See p. xvi, above.

²⁵ In the Odes to the *Comtesse de Tonnerre*, and to the *Dames Angevines*. In an interesting foot-note to this latter poem (Vol. IV, p. 38 of his ed. of Du Bellay) M. Chamard connects Du Bellay's championship of the ladies with the "querelle des femmes" which was still raging when these pieces were written.

²⁶ Cf. Canto XX, 1-3; Canto XXXVII, 1-23.

²⁷ Cf. p. 96, above.

²⁸ III, p. 75, note 1.

²⁹ See pp. 13, 19, 80 of this thesis.

³⁰ III, p. 79, note 4.

denly face to face with her lover, whom she has mourned as dead, joy and relief revive her beauty in the same way. Cf. *O. F.*, XXIII, 67, ll. 4-8.³¹

Next is the ode *A la Royne* (*Recueil* of 1549). Into this poem Du Bellay has introduced the allegory of the swans and crows, of which, since it is one of the most frequently imitated passages in the *Orlando*, I shall give a brief description: It occurs in Canto XXXV, stanzas 11-23: Astolpho, guided by Saint John, is visiting the wonders of the Heaven of the Moon,³² when they come upon a man busily engaged in collecting slips of metal, on which are engraved the names of human beings whose lives the Fates have just finished spinning. This person is old, but very nimble; no sooner does he fill his garment with a load of names, than he runs with them to a nearby river, and throws them in. The majority sink at once; some are caught as they fall by a flock of crows, magpies and such greedy fowls, which soon find the burden too heavy, and drop them again; but a few names are saved by two lovely swans, that, swimming with them to the shore, bear them to a temple sacred to Immortality. Upon Astolpho's asking the meaning of all this, he is told by the Apostle that the old man is Time; the river in which he submerges the names of men is Lethe, the stream of forgetfulness, from whose waters the efforts of the ignoble birds, that is of flatterers and hack-writers, are impotent to save them; only the great poets, the real swans of song, can confer upon the subjects of their verses enduring fame. Two stanzas of Du Bellay's ode were evidently inspired by this fable ("De Phebus . . . Sur la rive . . .").

After Saint John has explained to Astolpho what the swans represent, he launches into a wordy discourse on poets (22-29) of whom, it appears, he is especially fond.³³ Wise indeed, says he, is the prince who protects them! Blind and witless he who ignores their power! They can not only bring forth a dead man, living, from the tomb, but can moreover determine the repute in which he shall be held by posterity; many a legendary hero is such in the eyes of later generations merely because he had some

³¹ Also imitated by Ronsard; see p. 14 of this thesis.

³² Cf. p. 30 of this thesis.

³³ "Because" Ariosto makes him say "I myself was an author on Earth" (XXXV, 28).

great poet to swell his praises, while his perhaps more truly heroic contemporaries, not being so fortunately provided, have gone unsung to oblivion. The source of this passage is of course Horace's ode, *Ad M. Lollium* (*Carm.*, IV, ix). Du Bellay in his ode to the Cardinal de Chastillon (*Recueil* of 1549) has mingled material from both the *Ad Lollium* and the epic; thus the stanza "Heureux qui scait" is imitated from *O. F.*, XXXV, 23 and 24; the next stanza, "Maint Prince," mentions Charlemagne, Orlando, and Rinaldo, but takes its movement from the *Ad Lollium*, ll. 25-28. A following stanza, "Maints vivans" comes, as M. Chamard has remarked (III, 106), from the same lines in the *Ad Lollium*.

In the ode to the Contesse de Tonnerre (III, 145-148) Du Bellay's praise of famous women is modeled on the first three stanzas of Canto XX, and on the first, second, fifth, sixth and seventh stanzas of canto XXXVII, of the *Orlando Furioso*. Here, again, he has added to his enumeration of the heroines of antiquity the names of Bradamante and Marfisa; one wonders whether he did not do this as a sort of acknowledgment of indebtedness to the Italian, with whose epic most of his readers must have been well acquainted.

M. Chamard has pointed out that lines 21-24 of the *Musagnoeomachie* are a reference to the famous Orc,³⁴ the carnivorous sea-monster of the *Orlando Furioso*, VIII, 10, and XI, 34-35.³⁵ To this evidence of Ariosto's influence I can add lines 61-96 of the same poem, which describe the Beast of Ignorance;³⁶ here Du Bellay has imitated, in part, the Beast of the Apoca-

³⁴ Pio Rajna remarks in his *Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* (Florence, Sansoni, 1900), p. 198, that Ariosto probably took the monster's name from an incident in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, III, ii, 27. Originally it comes from the Latin *Orcus*, the abode of the dead, the ruler of the dead (syn. with Pluto), or, poetically, death itself. There may also have been in Ariosto's mind a recollection of the *Orcynus*, a large fish of the tunny species, mentioned by Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXII, 149.

³⁵ Compare with this Ovid's description of the sea-monster slain by Perseus, *Met.*, IV, 688-690.

³⁶ By which Du Bellay symbolizes the adherents of medievalism and scholasticism, who were opposing humanism and the "new learning" of the Renaissance. Cf. on this subject Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, p. 19, note 6, and 64, note 3.

lypse,³⁷ but chiefly the Beast of Avarice depicted in the *Orlando Furioso*, XXVI, 31-42.

Both the Beast of Du Bellay and that of Ariosto have ass's ears, both have triumphed over kings, commoners and prelates; Du Bellay's Beast bears "la clef . . . Du loyer et de la peine, Des miserables humains," while Ariosto's "le chiavi s'arroggi d'avere Del cielo e de l'abisso in suo potere"; and if Ariosto's monster is worse than "Quel Fiton che per carte e per inchiestro S'ode che fu sì orribile e stupendo," Du Bellay can say of his "Vous qui les fables contez, ne decrivez plus . . . le serpent Lernean" and a crowd of other mythological terrors, all "moins contrefaictz que ce monstre, qui est pere Des plus horribles forfaictz."

If, finally, in lines 121-124, Du Bellay praises Francis I of France as being earliest to attack the pest, he is only following Ariosto, who in a somewhat longer and more flowery passage (XXVI, 43-46) has done the same thing.

In the ode *Aux Dames Angevines*, lines 31-42 and 49-60, the poet has again, as M. Chamard remarks,³⁸ made use of the allegory of swans and crows (*O. F.*, XXXV, 11-23); and moreover, I find that he has incorporated it into a laudation of women very evidently inspired by the first, second, sixth and seventh stanzas of Canto XXXVII, which I have already mentioned,³⁹ and by two other stanzas of this same canto, 14 and 23.

In the ode *Contre les Envieux Poetes* the adherents of the old school of poetry are likened to a village mastiff, who, caught in the jaws of a bull-dog (the new school) still struggles, furiously but vainly, to save itself (ll. 121-132). This is, I believe, an amplification of a passage in the last canto of the *Orlando Furioso*. It will be remembered that the epic ends with a duel between Ruggiero, its hero, and Rodomonte, the brutal king of Sarza. The former is victorious; he throws the Pagan to the ground and stabs him, while Rodomonte struggles like a mastiff throttled by a hunting dog (*O. F.*, XLVI, 138, ll. 1-6). Ronsard also imitated this simile; cf. p. 83, above.

³⁷ Du Bellay's attribution to the Beast of a mouth like a lion's and of feet like those of a bear, is taken from *Apocalypse*, XIII, 2; and Ariosto himself had probably been inspired by this same chapter.

³⁸ IV, 39, notes 1 and 2.

³⁹ Cf. p. 104, above.

As M. Chamard points out,⁴⁰ the allegory of swans and crows⁴¹ appears again in *Contre les Envieux Poetes*, ll. 181-192.

As the source of lines 1-6 of the *Complainte du Desesperé* M. Chamard quotes⁴² the *Orlando Furioso*, III, 1;⁴³ the similarity here is one of movement, and not of theme; Ariosto wishes for greater powers of eloquence, that he may fittingly celebrate the glorious lineage of the Estensi; and Du Bellay seeks words in which to express his sorrows.

In addition, I find that lines 34-39 of the *Complainte* are imitated from *Orlando Furioso*, XXIII,⁴⁴ 113, which describes Orlando's mute, tearless grief at the loss of Angelica; grief so bitter that it can hardly find vent, but remains pent up within him, like water in a narrow-necked vase, which, when the vessel is inverted, can only issue forth drop by drop.⁴⁵

Stanzas 10-15 of the song "On peult feindre par le cizeau" are a translation of stanzas 61, 66, 65, 64, and 63 of the Letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, *O. F.*, XLIV.⁴⁶

Stanza 17 of this same song is evidently based on a passage in one of the laments of Bradamante,⁴⁷ XXXII, 37-43; in this case the influence is that of stanza 40, ll. 1-2 and 5-6, in which she accuses her lover of being more cruel to her than to his worst enemy.

A very different character in the *Orlando* inspired Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Satyre de Maistre Pierre du Cuignet*, to declare that Maistre Pierre's body, if dismembered, would reunite itself like quick-silver (ll. 273-278). This was a characteristic of the dreadful giant Orrilo, described in *O. F.*, XV, 69, 70.

⁴⁰ VI, 51, note 1.

⁴¹ *O. F.*, XXXV, 11-23. This is the third time Du Bellay has imitated it; cf. pp. 103, 105 of this thesis.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, IV, 87, note 2, in which M. Chamard credits Etienne Pasquier, (*Recherches de la France*, VII, 8 [ed. Amsterdam, Trévoux], 1723, t. I, col. 715-716), with the original discovery of this parallel.

⁴³ Also imitated by Ronsard; see p. 19 of this thesis.

⁴⁴ The canto which describes Orlando's going mad; cf. p. 35 of this thesis.

⁴⁵ A note in the Campari edition of the *Orlando* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, p. 414) points out that C. Pliny uses this simile of the narrow-necked vase or amphora in one of his *Epistles* (L. IV, 30). But Pliny applies it to a spring on the shore of Lake Como, not to an emotional state; Ariosto has amplified the simile and given it spiritual significance.

⁴⁶ Cf. p. 100 of this thesis.

⁴⁷ Cf. p. xvi of this thesis.

The *Ode sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont* contains three lines, 18, 19, and 20, which are similar to a couplet in the *Orlando*, XXXI, 33, ll. 7, 8:

Le Lyon n'engendre pas ⁴⁸

Le Cerf, qui a le coeur bas

Ni l'Aigle la Colombelle.

(V, 283-284)

Che la damma non genera il leone,

Ne le colombe l'aquila o il falcone.

Various of the pious reflections in the *Építaphe de Madame l'Abesse de Caen*, resemble those expressed by Ariosto in a somewhat similar composition, the canzone "Alma eletta," written upon the death of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, whose wife was Filiberta of Savoy, aunt to Francis the First. The passages in which the Duke's spirit exhorts his widow to resignation ("Iniqua a te Il mio"; "Di me Che tu") are perhaps the sources of ll. 25-30 and 36 of the *Építaphe*.

Antiquitez and Regrets. "Les *Antiquitez de Rome*," says M. Chamard in his *Joachim Du Bellay*,⁴⁹ "sont une œuvre de transition"; and in the preface to his edition of the *Antiquitez* he names the attributes which mark the work as transitional: ⁵⁰ the fact that it remained unfinished (Du Bellay completed only one book of these sonnets); the excessive imitation of learned and classical sources; and, finally, the fluctuations in its metrical form, which is sometimes alexandrine and sometimes decasyllabic.

The works that Du Bellay imitated most in these sonnets were, according to M. Vianey, the Latin classics,⁵¹ but he by no means ceased to borrow from Italian writers. M. Vianey lists as his

⁴⁸ M. Chamard, *op. cit.*, V, 284, note 1, gives as the source of this line Horace, *Carm.*, IV, 4, ll. 31, 32: "Neque imbellem feroces Progenerant aquilae Columbam" but as Horace does not give the deer-and-lion simile, I think the influence of Ariosto should be admitted here also.

⁴⁹ Lille, 1900, p. 295.

⁵⁰ Du Bellay, *Œuvres Poétiques*, Vol. II, Paris, E. Cornély et Cie, 1910 (p. v).

⁵¹ Cf. Joseph Vianey, "Les 'Antiquitez de Rome,' leurs sources latines et italiennes," *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 187.

sources the works of Horace, Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Lucan, Janus Vitalis, Buchanan, Ariosto, Castiglione, and Guidiccioni.

However much he may have taken from the others in this list, Du Bellay's debt to Ariosto, in the *Antiquitez*, is a very small one. Of the forty-seven sonnets comprised in the *Antiquitez* and the *Songe*, only one (14, *Antiquitez*) shows the influence of Ariosto. This has been discovered by M. Vianey, who shows⁵² that the first quatrain and lines 11, 12 and 13 of Sonnet 14 are inspired by certain passages in the story of Marganorre, *Orlando Furioso*, XXXVII. Marganorre, the bloody tyrant who hates all women, is so feared by his subjects that none of them dare to hold up their heads in his presence (*O. F.*, XXXVII, 80).

At last come Ruggiero, Bradamante and Marphisa and overthrow Marganorre; at once all those who cringed before him are ready to mock and insult their former ruler; Ariosto likens his state to that of a once mighty river, diminished by summer drought until it can be forded by a woman or a child (XXXVII, 110). For Marganorre, Du Bellay substitutes once-powerful Rome.

M. Vianey suggests that another of Ariosto's river-similes may also have been in Du Bellay's mind when he wrote the quatrain: that which describes the Po overflowing its banks, and carrying with it the sheep and the sheep-fold, the shepherd and his dogs (*O. F.*, XL, 31, ll. 1-6). M. Chamard has pointed out⁵³ that this same sonnet contains (ll. 9, 10) a reminiscence of Homer, and takes its last line from a line of Sannazaro's. Thus Ariosto, who was the single dominating source in sonnet after sonnet in the *Olive*, cannot exclusively influence one poem in the *Antiquitez*.

Apart from the fact that Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Antiquitez*, was deliberately aping the Latins, it is easy to understand why he found little, in Ariosto, that was suitable for a collection such as this. The love-poems, which had proved so useful when he was writing the *Olive*, were of course out of the question; the familiar, quizzical note of the Satires he was not yet ready to assume; and all of the most famous passages in the *Orlando*⁵⁴ (except the satire of the Heaven of the Moon, which he might have used) were unavailable for the same rea-

⁵² *Op. cit.*, pp. 193, 194.

⁵³ Cf. his edition of the *Antiquitez*, pp. 15, 16.

⁵⁴ See p. 103, above.

son as the love-lyrics—the material which they contained was unsuitable. Above all, he wished in the *Antiquitez* to be grave, sedate, formal, to convey the “sentiment des ruines”; it was not in the *Orlando* that such qualities should be sought.

Although the *Regrets* were published in the same year as the *Antiquitez*, it is generally conceded that they are posterior to the shorter collection in date of composition, and that with them the transition to Du Bellay's second manner is accomplished.⁵⁵ The change is marked. In place of his former restrained impersonality and studied imitation of hallowed classic models we find informality, a confidential, intimate style, originality, and free expression of the emotions. M. Chamard says of the sonnets: “Dans les *Regrets*, Du Bellay s'est mis tout entier”;⁵⁶ and Vianey quotes two passages from them which show that their author deliberately sought originality and was proud of it (cf. *Regrets*, Sonnets 2 and 4).

M. Vianey adds: “Du Bellay ne s'est point vanté à tort: il n'y a rien dans notre poésie du XVI^e siècle de plus original que les *Regrets*.”⁵⁷

This desire to relieve his spirit by expressing his unhappiness at being in Rome, where he did not want to be, and his disapproval of the Romans, whose habits shocked him, coupled with this ambition to be original, probably explains why, though the spirit of Ariosto's *Satires* breathes strongly throughout the *Regrets*, only one case of actual imitation of a line in the *Satires* has been discovered in these sonnets.

The *Satires* had been first published in 1534,⁵⁸ then re-printed in '35,⁵⁹ in '48,⁵⁹ '50⁵⁹ and '53,⁶⁰ the year when Du Bellay came to Rome. M. Vianey remarks that “les *Satires* de l'Arioste étaient à Rome entre toutes les mains quand Joachim Du Bellay

⁵⁵ Cf. Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay*, pp. 295, 368-380; also p. V. of the preface to his edition of the *Antiquitez* and *Regrets*. Cf. also Vianey, “Les ‘Antiquitez de Rome,’ leurs sources latines et italiennes.” *Bul. It.*, I (1901), p. 187; “La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets*.” *Bul. It.*, IV (1904), 30, 31.

⁵⁶ *Joachim du Bellay*, p. 377.

⁵⁷ “La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets*,” *Bul. It.*, IV (1904), 30 and 31.

⁵⁸ Place of printing not given.

⁵⁹ Both by Posini-Bindoni, Venice.

⁶⁰ Giolito, Venice.

y écrivit ses *Regrets*.”⁶¹ The discomforts and disappointments about which their author grumbled good-naturedly in his rambling *terza rima* epistles to his relations and friends; his love of peace and studious quiet constantly frustrated by poverty, which drove him here and there at the bidding of various patrons, one a cardinal;⁶² his being forced to spend three homesick, unhappy years, in the service of his prince, in a town which he hated;⁶³ his disgusted contempt for the violent, greedy, intriguing prelates at Rome, amongst whom his own necessities and his patron's affairs sometimes thrust him, and at whom he launched some of his bitterest slurs;⁶⁴ his independence, his hatred of servility and parasitism;⁶⁵ all this must have appealed especially to Du Bellay, who was suffering from the same griefs, and viewing with indignation the same abuses.

The single instance of imitation, discovered by Pflänzel,⁶⁶ and to which I have already referred,⁶⁷ occurs in Sonnet 150,⁶⁸ a satire on the servility of courtiers. Ariosto, in treating the same subject, had said that a Prince was not to be contradicted, even though he should proclaim that he saw stars in the heavens in daytime, or the Sun at midnight. Whom the Sovereign praises, his followers will praise; and whom he slights, they will scorn (Sat. II, “Io desidero intendere da voi,” ll. 10-18).

It is hardly to be expected that Ariosto's love-lyrics would be imitated in a collection of this satirical type, and indeed there seem to be no traces of them in the *Regrets*. The influence of the *Orlando*, though restricted to five sonnets, is more direct than that of the *Satires* and much easier to trace. This was first pointed out by M. Vianey in his two articles, *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*,⁶⁹ and *La Part de l'imitation dans les Regrets*.⁷⁰ In four

⁶¹ J. Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier*, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 41.

⁶² Cf. Sat. II “Io desidero intendere da voi,” and VII, “Bembo, io vorrei, com'è il commun desio,” ll. 232-240.

⁶³ Castelnovo, in the Garfagnana. Cf. Sat. V, “Il vigesimo giorno di Febbrajo.”

⁶⁴ Cf. Sat. I “Perc' ho molto bisogno, più che voglio”; IV, “Poi ch'è, Annibale, intendere vuoi come”; VI, “Pistofilo, tu scrivi che se appresso.”

⁶⁵ Sat. II, “Io desidero intendere da voi,” ll. 10-18.

⁶⁶ Cf. his *Über die Sonette des Joachim du Bellay*, Sallfeld, Wiedmannsche hofbuchdr. 1898, p. 67.

⁶⁷ See p. 109.

⁶⁸ Sonnet 142 in the Marty-Laveaux edition, which Pflänzel cites.

⁶⁹ *Bull. It.*, I (1901), 315, 316.

⁷⁰ *Bull. It.*, IV (1904), 40, 41.

cases,⁷¹ Du Bellay has, not taken over similes from the *Orlando*, but constructed similes of his own based on incidents in the epic. A discussion in detail will make this clearer:

The last six lines of Sonnet 87 allude to the story of Astolpho changed into a myrtle-tree,⁷² found in Canto VI, stanzas 23-56. Astolpho, the English knight, having had the misfortune to awaken a passion in the wicked fairy Alcina, is carried off by her to her enchanted kingdom, where he lives happily enough as her favored lover until the fickle fairy, tiring of him, changes him into a myrtle. So Du Bellay, thinking of his ever-denied desire to escape from Rome and return to France, likens himself to the translated Astolpho, grieving on an alien shore.

After Astolpho, there comes also to the domain of Alcina Ruggiero, the young hero who is beloved by Bradamante. He, too, becomes the fairy's lover,⁷³ and lives with her a life of effeminate idleness, forgetting all his manly virtue; from this existence he is rescued by his constant protectress, the wise enchantress Melissa, who places upon his finger a ring which has the power of undoing all the spells of Alcina, and of making her appear to him as she really is—old, wrinkled and hideous. It is this episode of Canto VII (stanzas 45-74) which Du Bellay recalls in Sonnet 88, ll. 5 and 6. The conclusion of this sonnet is interesting:

Qui chassera de moy ces Harpyes friandes?
Qui volera pour moy encor' un coup aux cieux,
Pour rapporter mon sens et me rendre mes yeux?
Et qui fera qu'en paix je mange mes viandes?

(ll. 11-14)

The movement here comes from the invocation to his lady with which Ariosto begins Canto XXXV of the *Orlando* (stanza 1, ll. 1-2), and the whole passage refers to a later adventure performed by Astolpho, in which the English knight rescues a blind king from a plague of Harpies, and then, ascending to the Moon, finds there an herb which will restore the king's sight, and a vial which contains the lost wits of his cousin, poor mad Orlando.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Sonnets 87, 88, 89, 90.

⁷² Also used by Ronsard; see p. 56, above.

⁷³ Also used by Ronsard; see p. 23, above.

⁷⁴ Cf. F. Neri, "Nota ai 'Regrets,'" *Athenaeum*, VII, 185 sqq.; and see pp. 30, 59, above.

In Sonnet 89, Du Bellay returns to Ruggiero and Alcina. After the magic ring has freed Ruggiero from the fairy's spells, he is overcome with shame at the thought of his former passion (VII, 65, ll. 4-8). He resolves to make his way to the domain of the virtuous Logistilla, the incarnation of nobility and ideal love;⁷⁵ he escapes from Alcina's city, traverses a sandy waste, and comes to a stretch of water which divides the land of Alcina from that of Logistilla.⁷⁶ Here a venerable man takes him into a boat; they set sail, and although Alcina's ships pursue them, they arrive safely in the port of Logistilla, and Ruggiero is welcomed at her castle.⁷⁷ Du Bellay, repenting of something in his past conduct which he considers as unworthy, applies this allegory to himself (ll. 5-14).

Sonnet 90 shows only one slight trace of the influence of the *Orlando*—in line 8, where Du Bellay refers contemptuously to the Roman courtézans as "ces vieilles Alcines."

In Sonnet 129, we find the longest and most direct imitation of the *Orlando* that occurs in the *Regrets*. The poet, free at last to return to France, avails himself, as M. Vianey remarks,⁷⁸ of the device by which Ariosto had announced the conclusion of his epic, *O. F.*, XLVI, 1-17;⁷⁹ that is, he feigns that he is returning from a long voyage by water, and that, as his ship draws near the home port, he perceives a crowd of friends, whom he names, waiting to greet him.

The Poems after the Regrets. M. Chamard places after the *Regrets*, in chronological succession, the collection of verse known as the *Jeux Rustiques* (privilege of 1557, printed in 1558); an *Epithalame sur le Mariage de Philibert Emanuel, Duc de Savoye, et Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Berry* (1559); the *Amours*, a group of twenty-nine sonnets composed in 1559 and published nine years later; and five poems to Diane de Poitiers which are usually published as a suite, although the exact dates of their composition are unknown, and were prob-

⁷⁵ VII, 75-80.

⁷⁶ VIII, 12; X, 35-42.

⁷⁷ X, 43-64.

⁷⁸ Cf. his *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*, pp. 315, 316.

⁷⁹ Previously used by Ronsard; see p. 31.

ably widely separated; ⁸⁰ in all of these some trace of Ariosto's influence is apparent. In the cases of the *Jeux Rustiques* and of the *Amours*, however, the trace is very slight; of the thirty-eight poems which comprise the *Jeux* only two, and of the twenty-nine *Amours* only one, show imitation of the work of Ariosto.

It is consistently the *Orlando* which Du Bellay imitates in these poems. The influence of the love-lyrics, dwindling after the *Olive*, has now entirely ceased; the satirical note heard in certain poems of the *Jeux Rustiques* (*La Courtisanne Repentie*, *La Contre-Repentie*, *La vieille Courtisanne*) comes not from Ariosto, but from other sources.⁸¹

The passages in the *Orlando* imitated here are Du Bellay's favorites. He has used all of them at least once before, and most of them are the famous episodes from which he, as well as the other Pléiades, have borrowed many times over: the description of Alcina, Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, her letter to Ruggiero, the fable of swans and crows, and the scene in which Roland goes mad.⁸²

M. Chamard had already discovered material taken from the *Orlando* in one of the poems in the *Jeux Rustiques*, the *Chant de l'Amour et du Printemps*,⁸³ and in Sonnet 24 of the *Amours*.⁸⁴ I have found additional *rapprochement* with the epic in the *Chant de l'Amour et de l'Hyver* (*Jeux Rustiques*; a companion piece to the song mentioned above), in the *Epithalame*, and in two of the poems to Mme de Poitiers.

The first of these discoveries, the *Chant de l'Amour et du Printemps*, contains (ll. 142-148) a comparison taken from the description of Alcina, VII, 10-16, which Du Bellay has used already in the *Olive*.⁸⁵ The passage imitated here is the famous description of Alcina's bosom, *O. F.*, VII, 14, ll. 3-5.

Stanzas 38 and 39 of Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, in which the loved one is compared to a sun whose presence brings the springtime, and whose absence causes a dreary win-

⁸⁰ Cf. for these statements Chamard's edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Du Bellay, Introductions to Vols. II and V.

⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, V, 136-181, notes.

⁸² Cf. p. xvi of this thesis.

⁸³ Cf. *op. cit.*, V, pp. 43, 44.

⁸⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, II, p. 249.

⁸⁵ Sonnet 71; cf. p. 99, above. For Ronsard's imitations of this line, cf. pp. 3, 24, 39, above.

ter, have also made their appearance in the *Olive*, in Sonnet 31.⁸⁶ Their influence is perceptible again in two stanzas of the *Chant de l'Amour et de l'Hyver*, ll. 31-42, though here the similarity is less marked.

Certain verses in the *Epithalame*, "L'aigle dessoubz son aile n'éclost la colombelle: Les animaux peureux Des fiers lyons ne naissent" recall a similar passage in the *Ode Sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont*, which I had paralleled (p. 107) with two lines in the *Orlando*, XXXI, 33, ll. 7 and 8. As in the case of the passage in the *Ode* (cf. note 48), M. Chamard (V, 215) gives Horace, *Carm.* IV, 4, 29-32, as the source of the lines in the *Epithalame*; but again I suggest that the lion-simile, which does not appear in Horace, may have come from Ariosto.

The simile of the narrow-necked vase or jar, which can hardly discharge its contents drop by drop, used by Ariosto to illustrate Roland's silent, inexpressible grief at the loss of Angelica,⁸⁷ and by Du Bellay in the *Complainte du Desespéré*,⁸⁸ does service again in a sonnet published with the *Epithalame* as a sort of personal expression of the poet's good-wishes, after the impersonal congratulations of the longer poem. Here it is not sorrow, but excessive pleasure which hinders the speaker from expressing his emotions (ll. 1-8).

The first of the poems to Mme de Poitiers, entitled *A Madame Diane de Poitiers*,⁸⁹ contains this stanza, ll. 121-126:

Les harpyes friandes,
Les corbeaux affamez
A piller les viandes
Sout tous accoustumez,
Les cygnes bien-chantans
Frequentent les estangs.

(V, 372)

Since Du Bellay has been discussing poets and poetry, and since in the succeeding stanza he complacently let it be known that *he* is a "cygne"—"Là, d'une plume franche Sans art apparoissant, . . . Peindray le beau Croissant," etc.—it is evident that these lines are inspired by the incident in the *Orlando*

⁸⁶ Cf. p. 98, above. For Ronsard's imitations of this passage, cf. pp. 28, 63, 73, above.

⁸⁷ XXIII, 113.

⁸⁸ Ll. 34-39; see p. 106 of this thesis.

⁸⁹ It may, according to M. Chamard, have been composed in 1552 or in 1557. Cf. *op. cit.*, V, 367, note 1.

which seems, after the letter of Bradamante, to be his favorite, the allegory of the swans and crows, or poets and flatterers,⁹⁰ XXXV, 11-23.

The third poem of this group, *A Ladicte Dame*, cannot be dated.⁹¹ Certain of its lines (48-60), in which Du Bellay praises the constancy of King Henri's love for Madame Diane, and compares it to a rock, unshaken by the furious assaults of wind and wave, recall the "di vera fede scoglio" simile of Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61), which was such a favorite with all the members of the Pléiade. M. Chamard gives as the source of this image two comparisons in the *Æneid*, VII, 586-590, and X, 693-696. The images in Virgil, however, have not a spiritual but a concrete application; they describe, in each case, a lone warrior standing firm against a group of combatants; in representing by the simile a faithful heart, Du Bellay is closer to Ariosto than to the Latin.

The twenty-fourth sonnet in the *Amours*, the only one which owes anything to Ariosto, is likewise inspired, as to its tercets, by the letter of Bradamante, in this case by stanzas 65 (first tercet) and 62 (second tercet).

What type of influence do these imitations show Ariosto exercising upon Du Bellay? Not an influence of form and style; the meters of which the Italian was especially fond, *ottava* and *terza rima*, have left no impress on Du Bellay's verses; each of the poets conceived his phrases, constructed his sentences, in an entirely different manner. This last was partly because of the difference between the languages they used, but also because, as a rule, their habits of thought, their methods of observing what went on about them, did not correspond; Du Bellay was an infinitely more serious, more formal person than the Ferrarese; not all his scanning of Ariosto's works could infect him with that graceful bantering lightness, that ever-present sense of the ridiculous, that frank enjoyment of the pleasures of the flesh, which fill with warmth and color the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori*. I do not mean that Ariosto was shallow; nothing

⁹⁰ For the lines "Les cygnes . . ." M. Chamard cites (V, 372, note 2) Virgil, *Æneid*, XI, 458.

⁹¹ Cf. Chamard, *op cit.*, V, 367, note 1.

could be further from the truth. His emotions were deep, and unselfish; love of his country, loyalty to his friends, and to those he served, but given with an independent spirit; hatred of avarice, of hypocrisy, of oppression, of all that is low, mean and vulgar. He had reached that high degree of sophistication which permits a man to be consistently his unaffected self—a state which his French imitators in the sixteenth century were far from attaining—and this explains his great originality of style, the strong personal flavor which he was able to inject into everything he wrote.

It is interesting to observe, that in the poems in which Du Bellay displays a spirit and style most akin to Ariosto's—in the *Regrets*—his aims are originality and sincerity, and his sources of inspiration are affection for his distant friends and country, loyalty to his patron, and indignation at the grasping iniquity of the Papal court. If Du Bellay had had the courage to be as natural and unassuming in his other works as he is in his satires, he could have profited by the example set by Ludovico, and given his sonnets and chansons a vividness not unlike the Italian's. But he had not this daring. To him poetry, except for the conventionally humorous satire, was a serious matter. He felt his responsibilities as a member of the Pléiade, and as a humanist they sat heavily upon him; therefore he hides his features in a conventional mask and declaims, where Ariosto speaks in his own voice and with a natural countenance.

This is why, except in his satires, Du Bellay misses the spirit of Ariosto's poetry and grasps only its substance; why he cannot so much be said to have felt the influence of Ariosto as to have borrowed from him. He takes what he needs where he finds it: this striking simile from the letter of Bradamante, that from the scene in which Roland loses his wits, or from one of the sonnets; and only the reader who knew the borrowed bit in its original setting can feel the incongruity of its new environment. This eclecticism was voluntary; and Du Bellay's own comment on his procedure, given in the first preface to the *Olive*,⁹² shows better than any exposition of mine his attitude towards his model: "Vrayment je confesse avoir imité . . . l'Arioste et d'autres modernes Italiens; pource qu'en l'argument que je traicte, je n'en ay point trouvé de meilleurs."

⁹² I, 8.

CONCLUSION

It has now become evident that some of M. Vianey's theories concerning the influence of Ariosto's poetry on that of Ronsard and his group¹ may be accepted without modification, while others must be rejected. His statement as to the length of its duration has been perfectly supported by all the evidence that I have been able to collect; Ariosto's work exercised its greatest ascendancy upon French lyric poetry between the years 1550 and 1560, while Du Bellay and de Magny were still living, and all the members of the "Jeune Ecole" were writing love poems; but Ronsard, and his disciples after him, continued to imitate the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* for at least forty years longer.

M. Vianey is obviously correct in asserting that it was the ardent, voluptuous character of Ariosto's verses that chiefly recommended them to the members of the Pléiade; we have seen for ourselves that the erotic passages are those most frequently imitated.

It was not, however, as he supposes, Joachim Du Bellay who led his group in imitating the work of the Italian, nor did the number of Du Bellay's appropriations, large as it was, deter his companions from taking material from the same source. Two years before the publication of Du Bellay's first volume of verse (the *Olive*, 1549), both Ronsard and Peletier had published poems which showed *rapprochement* with the *Orlando*. Ronsard's borrowings from the work of Ariosto are much more numerous than Du Bellay's; moreover, Baïf took almost as much from this source as did the author of the *Olive*.

It is as an imitator of the *Opere minori* that Du Bellay stands out from among the members of his group. He imitated more of Ariosto's love-sonnets than any of his contemporaries; indeed, the only other member of the Pléiade who imitated them to any extent was Ronsard. By the rest the love-sonnets, except the Sixth² and the Twenty-second,³ were almost entirely neg-

¹ Stated in his article on "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 295 sqq.; cf. p. ix, above.

² See p. 21, above.

³ See p. 27, above.

lected; Baïf and Pontus de Tyard, as well as Du Bellay and Ronsard, composed poems based on the Twenty-second sonnet; and every poet in the group imitated the Sixth sonnet, which for some reason or other, probably on account of the gaudy *conchetto* with which it begins, had a most tremendous vogue.

Du Bellay is also, I believe, the first French poet whose work shows the influence of Ariosto's Satires. After him, and in all likelihood through him, the Satires came to be known and imitated by de Magny, and by some of the most prominent writers of the next generation.⁴

The most frequently and most universally imitated of Ariosto's works is of course the *Orlando Furioso*. I have already pointed out those passages in the epic which Ronsard and his adherents chiefly admired;⁵ they all contain a multiplicity of striking similes; most of them express strong emotions, love and jealousy, rage and the desire for revenge. Unfortunately, in their quest for the obviously effective the poets of this group entirely overlook the more subtle and psychologically acute passages in the epic; moreover, they sometimes grossly distort the material that they take from it; thus Orlando's farewell to his friend Brandimarte,⁶ which is a really noble address, is transformed by Ronsard into the lament of a young courtesan for her dead lover;⁷ surely lack of sensitiveness could go very little further.

Baïf is the only one to imitate Ariosto's verse-forms; he has attempted to reproduce in French both the *terza rima* of the Elegies and the *ottava rima* of the *Orlando*.⁸ This experiment he soon abandoned, however, and it was not repeated by any other member of the school of Ronsard; it has therefore small significance.

When all is said, the reason why the poets of this school imitated Ariosto's work so often was probably because he had a

⁴ Desportes, Vauquelin de la Fresnaie, and Mathurin Regnier; cf. on this subject Joseph Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier*, Paris, Hachette, 1896, and *ibid.*, *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*.

⁵ See p. xvi, above.

⁶ *Orlando Furioso*, XLIII, 170-174.

⁷ In the first *Elégie à Genève*; cf. p. 64, above.

⁸ In the poems "Une Maïstress est bien dure et cruelle" and "Envieux medisant, de qui la bouche est pleine"; cf. pp. 126, 128, above.

great understanding of human emotions, and an ability to portray what he himself felt, and what he observed in other people, with exceeding aptness and vigor. The fact that the normal simplicity and directness of his style was sometimes marred by a superabundance of *concetti* did not of course grate upon the sensibilities of Ronsard and his companions; on the contrary, they considered it one of the most admirable features of the epic.⁹

It would be impossible to discuss in a single thesis the influence of Ariosto's poetry on the work of all the better-known poets of the school of Ronsard. I have treated here the poems of those writers who ought obviously to be considered together: the seven members of the Pléiade, Peletier, who was their precursor and to a certain extent their guide, and Tahureau and de Magny, who were Pléiadistes in theory and practice, if not in title. The magnitude of their debt to Ariosto, as revealed in the preceding chapters, proves, I believe, that this phase of Italian influence on French literature in the sixteenth century is deserving of much more attention than has heretofore been given it; I hope in the future to supplement this study by an examination of the works of such men as Jean de la Pérouse and Amadis Jamyn, who professed the same literary creed as the poets of the Pléiade, and who therefore in all probability imitated the same models.

⁹ This is the chief defect of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66; cf. p. xvi, above), which is in other respects a lyric passage of admirable pathos. But the members of the Pléiade greatly admired its wealth of metaphors, which they never tired of imitating.

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VITA

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I desire to express my sincere appreciation to the professors whose courses I have followed during these four years, and especially to Drs. H. Carrington Lancaster and Gustave Gruenbaum, under whose kind guidance this thesis was written.

